

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING AUGUST 22 (SALT TWO-739)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING SEMENOV MADE LONG STATEMENT REITERATING THEIR POSITION ON F.B.S. AND "NECESSITY" OF RESOLVING QUESTION, AND THEN TABLED "A NON-CIRCUMVENTION" FORMULA AS A REVISION OF ARTICLE XIII, READING AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE. IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS AGREEMENT, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT BEING WEAKENED OR CIRCUMVENTED THROUGH A THIRD STATE OR THIRD STATES, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER, UNQUOTE.

2. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION HE SUPPLEMENTED THIS BY A WRITTEN STATEMENT OF WHICH HE HANDED OVER A COPY, STATING THAT QUOTE: THE USSR DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, IN TABLING THE NEW PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE XIII, TO PROPOSE THAT THE U.S. SIDE MAKE A STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT IN CONNECTION WITH THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED IT NOT ONLY WILL NOT BUILD UP NUCLEAR SYSTEMS SHICH, DUE TO THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL

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DEPLOYMENT, ARE CAPABLE OF REACHING THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET

UNION, BUT WILL ALSO UNDERTAKE MEASURES TO REDUCE THEM. UNQUOTE.

3. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION HE STRESSED THAT THEIR NEW PROPOSAL TAKES ACCOUNT OF U.S. VIEWS AND EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THIS SUBJECT OVER THE YEARS, "NOT ONLY BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS BUT ALSO ELSEWHERE." IN STRESSING IMPORTANCE SOVGOV CONTINUES TO ATTACH TO SUBJECT, HE REFERRED TO GROMYKO'S HAVING RAISED "ENTIRE FBS QUESTION" WITH KISSINGER IN GENEVA LAST JULY. I CONFINED MYSELF TO SAYING THAT THEY WELL KNEW OUR POSITION ON FBS AND EFFORTS TO INCLUDE IT IN THIS AGREEMENT, BUT WOULD, OR COURSE, WANT FURTHER TO STUDY THE MATTER IN ORDER TO MAKE A CONSIDERED REPLY. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, HE SAID THAT THEY CONSIDERED THEIR PROPOSAL TODAY ON ARTICLE XIII TO BE ENTIRELY SEPARATE FROM THEIR PROPOSAL ON NON-TRANSFER FOR ARTICLE XIV, WHICH THEY FELT REQUIRED SEPARATE HANDLING.

4. I MADE PLENARY STATEMENT GIVING OUR NEW LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE VII OF JDT, AS WELL AS STATEMENT REFERRING TO THEIR NEW LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE XII, IN WHICH I REITERATED OUR VIEW THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE AT 2,400 AND 1,320 LEVELS BY OCTOBER 3, 1977. I ENDED WITH INVITATION TO SOVDEL TO EXPLAIN THEIR REASONS BEHIND THEIR PROPOSAL AND, PARTICULARLY, WHY THEY FEEL IT WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE PARTIES TO RETAIN EXCESS SYSTEMS BEYOND OCTOBER 1977.

5. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION, I EVENTUALLY NAILED HIM DOWN TO UNDERSTANDING THAT I WAS AWAITING SOME MOVE ON HIS PART WITH RESPECT TO THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY MISSILES.

6. ALSO IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION I TOLD SEMENOV THAT, WHILE SOME INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION (POSSIBLY INCLUDING ME AT SOME POINT) WOULD IN NEXT FEW WEEKS BE MAKING SHORT VISITS TO U.S. FOR PERSONAL REASONS, WE WERE NOT CONTEMPLATING ANY RECESS AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONTINUE WORK AS USUAL. HE CONFIRMED THAT THEY ALSO INTENDED TO CONTINUE WORK.

7. IN HIS PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH SHCHUKIN, MAY SOUGHT TO FOLLOW UP ON MY CONVERSATION WITH HIM ON AUGUST 20 (SALT TWO-738) IN AN EFFORT TO SEEK A WAY OF ACHIEVING SOME FORWARD
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MOVEMENT ON THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, SHCHUKIN REMAINED FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE SOVIET FORMULATION AND CONTINUED TO STATE THAT THE WORD "CONCEALMENT" IN BOTH ENGLISH AND RUSSION COVERED ALL THE U.S. CONCERNS.

8. NEXT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 26.
JOHNSON

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NNN

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